1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

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Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

T 291

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

T [515]

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

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The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and to recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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to criticize the family, however, she looked very stern and said, "Be careful of your words. My mother and father treated her like a grandchild. They are dead now, but I am not. You never thanked them for taking care of her for you, and you had better not criticize them either."

Guat-ngo: "And what do you mean I don't know anything about it? I was nine years old when she came here, and I often carried her on my back. When she was little she often fainted, and she often had convulsions. Did you know that? Did you ever take care of her when she was sick?"

Lim A-pou recovered her calm face, but was still stern looking. "Your daughter is your daughter," she said. "No matter how bad, she is still your daughter, and no matter how bad you are, you are still her mother. You must not keep saying you want her to die. She buys nice things to feed you and nice clothes for you to wear, and she does this only for you. You are the only one she gives things to, except the children now and then. If you want to treat her badly, we cannot stop you, but because I took care of her when she was little, I have a right to say some things. If you want to be someone's servant, you won't find it such a bad job. Anybody can be a servant. You had better take a look at yourself first, though. Are you healthy enough for that?"

Tan A-hong suffers from asthma and is extremely thin, both conditions exacerbated by her all night gambling and chain smoking.

A-hong: "My bad health is her fault, too. When my youngest daughter was born, it was winter and Chun-ieng refused to wash or cook for me so I had to get up and do it myself. My bad health is all due to her. She refused to help me. I want her to die. If she won't treat me like a mother, I won't treat her like a daughter."

Guat-ngo: "You just think it over. There may be some daughters who treat their mothers better than Chun-ieng treats you, but if my daughter treats me as well, I will say that I have great good fortune."

A-pou: "Your lot in life compares better with rich people than with mine. I have two sons, but even sons can't buy clothes for me. You only have a daughter, but look what a pretty sweater she bought you."

A-hong threw the sweater on the floor and said, "Pretty sweater! I may be over forty, but I don't need that wretch to feed me. She never has fed me."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

251 262 944 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. [241] Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. [562] Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
464 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much